

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3831

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: JULY 10 NAC DISCUSSION ON CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: MADRID 4339 TO USNATO (NOTAL)

SUMMARYC FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF U.S. SUGGESTIONS ON CSCE
OUTLINED REFTEL, COUNCIL AGREED WITH U.S. PROCEUDURAL APPROACH BUT
SAW NEED FOR CLEARER DEFINITIONS OF NATO AND GENEVA ROLES IN
FUTURE WORK. FRENCH AND OTHERS SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES NOT ATTEMPT
TO BE TO SPECIFIC AT THIS TIME IN DEFINING ELEMENTS OF A
SATISFACTORY CSCE OUTCOME. AS PROPOSED REFTEL, COUNCIL WILL
DISCUSS PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS NEXT WEEK FOOLLWOING
MEETING OF EC-9 POLITICAL DIRECTORS. IT WAS AGREED THAT GENEVA
DELEGATION CHIEFS WOULD NOT BE ASKED TO ATTEND JULY 17 NAC
SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. IN OPENING JULY 10 NAC DISUCSSION ON CSCE, SYG LUNS
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REFERRED TO HIS MEMORANDUM CALLING FOR A NAC EXAMINATION OF
CSCE RESULTS TO DATE AND A DEFNITION OF ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS
FOR A SUCCESSFUL CSCE OUTCOME, WHICH HE SAID WOULD MEAN "A SUMMIT
MEETING AS YOU ALL KNOW". LUNS SAID HE ASSUMED FROM THE

DISCUSSION FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S NAC STATEMENT ON JULY 4 THAT ALLIES AGREED TO A COUNCIL REVIEW OF CSCE AND THAT ONLY QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE AND SUBSTANCE REMAINED TO BE ANSWERED. HE ADDED "OF COURSE THE REVIEW WOULD BE HERE IN BRUSSELS". HE SUGGESTED THAT A FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THEE MATTERS BE HELD IN THE COUNCIL ON JULY 17 AND THAT THE ALLIES CONSIDER ASSIGNING THE SPC THE TASK OF PREPARING AN ALLIED POSITION FOR USE IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WHEN TALKS RESUME THERE IN "EARLY SEPTEMBER".

2. IN LINE WITH AGREEMENT AT PERMREPS' LUNCH, JULY 9, (USNATO 3813) THAT ONLY CSCE PROCEDURAL MATTERS WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE JULY 10 NAC, U.S. REP (PRENDERGAST) MADE ORAL STATEMENT COVERING PROCEDUARL SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN PARA 1A&B AND PARAS O, P, Q & R OF REFTEL. PROCEDUAAL POINTS AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIVE SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN REFTEL WERE CIRCULATED IN WRITING TO IS AND DELEGATIONS DURING THE COUNCIL MEETING.

3. FRENCH PERMREP (DE ROSE) SAID HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMENT IN DETAIL ON THE U.S. SUGGESTIONS AND WISHED TO RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DISCUSS LATER SPECIFIC POINTS OF THE U.S. PROPOSAL. REFERRING TO THE JULY 9 PERMREPS' LUNCH DISCUSSION OF CSCE, DEROSE SAID FRANCE AGREED WITH THE NECESSITY FOR CONSULTATIONS IN BRUSSELS TO IDENTIFY ESSENTIAL POINTS ON CSCE. FRANCE ALSO AGREED WITH THE HOLDING OF A COUNCIL MEETING ON JULY 17 TO ESTABLISH THE PROCEDURES FOR AND OBJECTIVES OF FUTURE WORK. DE ROSE SAID THE COUNCIL'S GOAL SHOULD BE TO GIVE GENERAL DIRECTIONS TO ALLIANCE ACTIVITIES IN CSCE SINCE T WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE AT THIS TIME, "EITHER HERE OR ANYWHERE ELSE", TO PRECISELY DEFINE DESIRED RESULTS OF CSCE STAGE III OR EVEN OF CSCE STATE II. TO ATTEMPT SUCH DEFINITIONS MIGHT BE DAMAGING TO THE ALLIANCE BECAUSE THE PREPARATION OF A SPECIFIC LIST OF ESSENTIALS WOULD--IF IT BECAME PUBLIC, AS WAS BOUND TO HAPPEN--CAUSE PROBLEMS WITH WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION IF THE LIST TO CLOSELY REFLECTED SOVIET//EE POSITIONS. CONVERSELY TO LIST OF ESSENTIALS THAT PROVE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES WOULD PROMPT A CAMPAIGN AGAINST NATO FOR ATTEMPTING TO TORPEDO THE CONFERENCE. ACCORDINGLY, DE ROSE BELIEVED GENERAL ORIENTATIONS
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SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FIRST WHILE A GREATER DEGREE OF PRECISION MIGHT BE DEVELOPED ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES FOLLOWING AN ALLIANCE ANALYSIS BOTH OF RESULTS TO DATE AND OF PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE. IN SUMMARY, DE ROSE NOTED THAT THE SPC WOULD HAVE A LOT TO DO, THAT FLEXIBILITY WAS NEEDED IN GENEVA AND THAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD SET AS ITS OBJECTIVE THE FINDING OF WAYS TO SEE WHAT IS ESSENTIAL SO THAT NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT MOVE AHEAD. HE ADDED THAT A DECISION ON STATE III COULD ONLY BE MADE WHEN THE RESULTS OF STATE II ARE KNOWN. NAC DISCUSSIONS NEXT WEEK COULD GET FURTHER INTO DETAILS FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS. DE ROSE EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THE NINE, IN HARMONY WITH THE ALLIES, WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY THE POSITIVE ROLE IN CSCE THAT THEY HAD PLAYED TO DATE.

4. LUNS AGREED WITH DE ROSE THAT HERE WAS A DANGER THAT NATO WORK ON CSCE MIGHT RESULT IN ACCUSATIONS THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS EITHER TORPEDOING THE CONFERENCE OR THAT THE ALLIES WOULD GO TO STATE III REGARDLESS OF SUBSTANTIVE CSCE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. LUNS ASKED IN THIS REGARD WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE USEFUL TO HARMONIZE VIEWS WITH THE NEUTRALS (SWEDES, SWISS AND SPANISH) AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS COULD ALSO BE DISCUSSED NEXT WEEK.

5. FRG CHARGE (BOSS), SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, SAID THAT ON PROCEDURAL STEPS THE FRG WISHED AN INTENSIVE DISCUSSION IN BRUSSELS OF ELEMENTS ESSENTIAL TO A SATISFACTORY CSCE OUTCOME. THE FRG COULD THEREFORE ACCEPT THE U.S. PROCEDURAL RECOMMENDATIONS. ON SUBSTANCE, BOSS SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIANCE REVIEW GO FORWARD ON THE BASIS OF THE JUNE 10 EC-9 PAPER WHICH THE FRG HAD CIRCULATED IN THE COUNCIL (USNATO 3358).

6. DANISH PERMREP (SVART) SAID DENMARK COULD ACCEPT PROCEDURAL RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY LUNS AND THE U.S., STARTING WITH A COUNCIL DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK. HE SUGGESTED THAT FLEXIBILITY BE RETAINED, HOWEVER, ON THE QUESTION OF HOW MUCH OF THE FUTURE WORK IS DONE HERE OR IN GENEVA. IN ANY EVENT A FULL INTERPLAY BETWEEN DELEGATIONS IN BRUSSELS AND GENEVA MUST BE GUARANTEED.

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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7. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) THANKED THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS AS A "PREFACE" TO FURTHER WORK ON CSCE. DE STAERCKE SAID BELGIUM COULD AGREE WITH PROCEDURAL RECOMMENDATIONS TO BEGIN WITH A COUNCIL DISCUSSION ON JULY 17. ON SUBSTANCE, HE AGREED WITH THOSE WHO BELIEVE THE ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO

BE TO SPECIFIC NOW. DE STAERCKE ALSO WONDERED HOW FAR THE COOUNCIL COULD GO IN ADDRESSING SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS SINCE THESE ARE SO COMPLET THAT IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO DEAL WITH THEM IN GENEVA. MOREOVER, IT MIGHT BE PREFEREABLE FOR THE COUNCIL TO ASSUME A GENERAL SUPERVISOR ROLE ON CSCE BY PROVIDING GENERAL DIRECTIONS BUT WITHOUT GETTING INTO THE MINUTIAE OF SPECIFIC GENEVA PROPOSALS.

8. PECK (UK PERMREP) AGREED WITH DE ROSE'S AGRUMENT AGAINST DEVELOPING TO MUCH SPECIFICITY IN ALLIED POSITIONS AT THIS TIME. HE BELIEVED THE NAC SHOULD CONSULT ON BROAD GENERAL ISSUES AND LET THE EXPERTS IN GENEVA DEAL WITH THE "NITTY GRITTY" OF GENEVA DETAILS. PECK THOUGHT CSCE DELEGATIONS COULD UNDERTAKE A STUDY IN GENEVA OF POSSIBLE ELEMENTS IN A SATISFACTORY CONFERENCE OUTCOME AND THEN REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OR THE SPC IN AUGUST. WHATEVER CSCE TACTICS AND SUBSTANCE ARE DECIDED IN THE COUNCIL, PECK SUBMITTED
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THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE "POLITICAL MASTERS" OF THE ALLIANCE WOULD ASSERT THAT BROADER EAST-WEST ISSUES ARE AT PLAY THAN MERE SCCE SPECIFICS.

9. DUTCH PERMREP (HARTOGH) THANKED THE U.S. FOR REPEATING THAT ITS POSITION REMAINED AS STATED IN OTTAWA. BUT HE ASKED IF THERE WERE NOT A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS IN OTTAWA AND THE CURRENT U.S. PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE CSCE WORK. IN OTTAWA, THE SECRETARY HAD SAID THAT IF THE ALLIES FELT THAT NO FORESEEABLE RESULT COULD JUSTIFY A CSCE STAGE III THEN THE SOVIETS SOULD BE INFORMED OF THIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THIS POSITION WAS DIFFERENT FROM CALLING NOW FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MINIMUM REQUIREMENS FOR A CSCE STATE III. ON SUBSTANCE, HARTOGH AGREED WITH DE ROSE'S SUGGESTIONS THAT TO GREAT A DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY SHOULD BE AVOIDED AT THIS TIMEM MOREOVER, HE WONDERED HOW THE ALLIANCE COULD UNDERTAKE A GENERAL STUDY OF PROSPECTIVE CSCE RESULTS UNTIL MORE IS KNOWN OF SOVIET REACTIONS SINCE LANGUAGE ON ONLY SIX OF THE THEN PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AND ONLY A FEW ELEMENTS IN BASKET III WERE THE SUBJECTS OF SPECIFIC LANGUAGE.

10. ITALIAN CHARGE (BETTINI) AGREED THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD INITIATE DISCUSSION OF CSCE NEXT WEEK. HE ALSO AGREED WITH THE FRENCH VIEW ON BEING TO SPECIFIC AT THIS TIME. BETTININ ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE JUNE 10 EC DOCUMENT PROVIDED A GOOD BASIS FOR THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION.

1. MENZIES (CANADA) SAID HE SENSED A FEELING AMONG GENEVA DELEGATIONS THAT AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC TEXTS IS A DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX PROCESS NOT ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON WESTERN AND NEUTRAL POSITIONS BUT ON MANY OTHER FACTORS. PRINCIPAL AMONG THESE WAS THE FACT THAT ON MANY ISSUES THERE WAS /NO GIVE AT ALL" IN EASTERN POSITIONS. MENZIES AGREED WITH DE ROSE'S SUGGESTION THAT THE COUNCIL ATTEMPT TO DEFNE GENERAL OBJECTIVES SINCE THE METHOD OF NEGOTIATION IN GENEVA MADE IT DIFFICULT TO

UNDERTAKE A REVIEW OF SPECIFICS IN BRUSSELS. SPECIFICALLY, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ATTEMPT TO OFFER GUIDANCE ON THE LABORIOUS PROCESS IN GENEVA OF REMOVING BRACKETS FROM TEXTUAL PROPOSALS. MENZIES SAID HIS IMPRESSION OF THE OTTAWA MEETING WAS THAT MINISTERS FELT THE NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA SHOULD "PLOD ON" UNTIL THE RESULTS THE ALLIANCE WANTS ARE ACHIEVED.

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DURING THE COUNCIL'S CSCE REVIEW, THEREFORE, THE ALLIES SHOULD ASK THEMSELVES WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE PREFERABLE TO "PLON ON" PATIENTLY IN GENEVA RATHER THAN TO SET A RIGID TIMETABLE AND SPECIFIC GOALS. IT MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, BE USEFUL TO SEE HOW MANY MORE TEXTS CAN BE NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA SINCE DELEGATIONS THERE MAY NOT FEEL THAT THE RESULTS OF "PLODDING ON" HAD YET BEEN FULLY TESTED.

12. RESPONDING TO MENZIES, LUNS SAID THAT MISINSTERS IN OTTAWA HAD CERTAINLY NOT WANTED TO CALL A STOP TO THE "PLODDING" IN GENEVA BUT RATHER TO SET DIRECTIONS FOR THE GENEVA EFFORT. HE CONCURRED THAT MINISTERS HAD NOT SET A TIMETABLE AT OTTAWA BUT HAD AGREED THE THE ALLIANCE SHOULD TAKE A LOOK AT GENERAL CSCE DIRECTIONS.

13. U.S. REP NOTED THAT THE UNITED STATES' OBJECTIVE OF STIUMULATING A THOUGHTFUL AND PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION HAD SUCCEEDED. WITH REGARD TO SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY OTHERS, HE SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO RECALL THAT THE U.S. HAD PROPOSED ONLY THAT THE ALLIANCE ADDRESS THREE PARTICULAR CSCE ELEMENTS. IT SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED, THEREFORE, AS A SUGGESTION THAT NATO GET INTO ALL THE DETAILS OF CSCE BUT RATHER THAT IT FOCUS ON THE THREE MAIN PROBLEM AREAS. THE U.S. REP ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE WORK IN THE COUNCIL AND SPC PROPOSED BY THE U.S. DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH ON-GOING WORK IN GENEVA; AND IN THAT SENSE IN NO WAY CONFLICTS WITH "PLODDING ON" IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE U.S. PROPOSAL IS AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH GENERAL DIRECTION BUT WHICH ALSO CLEARLY RECOGNIZES THAT COLLABORATION BETWEEN NATO AND GENEVA DE L-EGATIONS IS ESSENTIAL. WHILE AGREEING THAT THE ALLIANCE WOULD INDEED RUN RISKS FROM EXCESSIVE PRECISION, THERE ARE RISKS ALSO IN ARRIVING AT RESULTS THAT ARE TOO GENERAL TO SERVE AS MEANINGFUL GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA. PRENDERGAST SAID THE U.S. ASSUMES THAT A COMPROMISE SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND WHICH AVOIDED THESE TWO RISKS.

14 IN SUMMING UP, LUNS NOTED THAT A CONSENSUS FAVORED CONSIDERATION OF THE U.S. PROPOSAL AND THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION SHOULD BEGIN IN THE COUNCIL ON JULY 17. AT THAT TIME THE ALLIES COULD ADDRESS THE ROLE OF THE SPC AND HOW WORK SHOULD PROCEED BOTH IN BRUSSELS AND IN GENEVA.

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COMMENT. HELPFUL FRENCH INTERVENTION SET STAGE FOR NAC
AGREEMENT TO U.S. PROCEDURAL PROPOSALS AND HOPEFULLY FOR EC
POLITICAL DIRECTORS DISCUSSIONS JULY 11 AND FOR FURTHER NAC
DELIBERATIONS ON CSCE NEXT WEEK. PRESENT CONSENSUS HERE IS
THAT WAY IS NOW CLEAR FOR SPC TO BEGIN CSCE STUDY SHORTLY
AFTER JULY 17 MEETING. CONSENSUS ALSO FAVORS FRENCH POINT
THAT ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO CLOSE A DEFINITION OF
SATISFACTORY CSCE OUTCOMES AT THIS TIME. END COMMENT.
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